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WAR & PEACE

Washington clowns as Soviets make biggest bid for peace

THE "clean government" circus featuring a switch in Attorney-Generals, the Truman-Wilson split, and the Presidential scramble diverted attention last week from the increasingly direct collision of Washington policies with the facts of life and opportunities for peace around the world.

The new Attorney General
This is James P. McGranery, a heeler in the wards of Philadelphia, pal of J. Howard McGrath, whom he replaced, and Harry Tuman, a back-room boy in the worst tradition. Of his appointment Richardson Dilworth, Democratic District Attorney of Philadelphia said: "It is so bad as to be almost unbelievable."

Two war documents—Eisenhower's report on NATO "achievements," and former defense chief Wilson's on mobilization—proved similarly diversionary. Eisenhower's, "rich in phrases with political appeal for diverse groups back home" (**Wall St. Journal**, 4/2), could "easily be read as his first major stump speech as a political candidate" (it rated at best a couple of paragraphs in European papers). Wilson introduced his by admitting that the mobilization program was never intended to meet all-out war, thereby joining the many cold-war leaders who have implicitly confessed the Soviet war scare is a myth; but he too boasted of the "growing strength" of the "free world."

Neither report mentioned "the larger questions of policy which lie over and under and on all sides of the furious work of rearming, here and in Western Europe" (**WSJ**, 4/4). These "larger questions apparently do not trouble the Washington Administration" (**WSJ**); but Washington's furious rearming was being questioned throughout the "free world," where its policies prove increasingly unworkable.

MOSCOW ALTERNATIVES: Meanwhile the U. S. S. R. was driving to relax international tension by offering workable alternatives. This "new bid . . to solve world problems through negotiations (N.Y. **Times** from Moscow, 4/4) had assumed the broadest character of any Soviet move against the cold war.

On the heels of the March 10 Soviet notè, which proposed German unity and neutralization, Premier Stalin answering a cable from a group of U.S. editors said the time is ripe for unification of Germany; war is no closer now than two or three years ago; a meeting of great-power heads might be helpful, and peaceful co-existence of capitalism and communism is fully possible given mutual desire to cooperate.

Izvestia, Soviet government paper, elaborating Stalin's few words, reaffirmed Soviet readiness to solve all international questions "by peaceful means on the basis of international cooperation . . . equality . . . respect of mutual interests." The **Times'** Harrison Salisbury wrote (4/4) that it was believed in Moscow

> **. . . the Soviet leader had in mind concrete steps for implementing the basic objectives touched upon in his declaration. These steps may involve diplomatic initiatives in several parts of the world and may touch on a number of questions at issue between the East and the West.**

WHO WANTS TO TRADE? One concrete step was toward a tremendous expansion of East-West trade. To the Intl. Economic Conference in Moscow, Soviet Chamber of Commerce pres. Mihail Nesterov last week presented a country-by-country tabulation of the Soviet proposal to do 7½ to 10 billion dollars of trade with the capitalist world in the next two or three years. Soviet trade was offered on a cash or barter basis, the U. S. S. R. agreeing to accept payment in local currency and spend the proceeds in the country of origin. Noting that Soviet trade is already three times pre-war volume, Nesterov made these concrete offers:

- A billion-dollar trade with Britain, the U. S. S. R. buying machines and manufactures, textiles, spices, herring and selling timber, grain, etc.
- Five- or six-fold increase in trade with France, buying ships, rolled metal, cocoa beans, citrus fruits, and selling cereals, timber, manganese, chrome and anthracite.

(Continued on Page 3)

In one hand the tablet reads: "July 4, 1776"
In the other hand Miss Liberty holds a torch lighting the open sea, symbol of the gateway to freedom. Do you remember, when you were in school, how you tingled with pride at the stories of America welcoming the "storm tossed of other shores?" On pp. 5-8 of this issue the GUARDIAN tells another story of another America and what it is doing to foreign-born Americans — and what you can do to help restore a cherished tradition.

Murder of 2 Negroes by ex-cop in Yonkers, N. Y., raises a storm

ON MARCH 19 three Negro brothers, William, James and Wyatt Blacknall, stopped into a Yonkers, N.Y., tavern for a beer. A recently-retired state highway cop, Stanley LaBensky, stood beside them. He had this exchange with the bartender:

> **"Do you serve blacks here?"**
> **"We serve anybody who pays and behaves himself."**
> **"Do you wash the glasses?"**

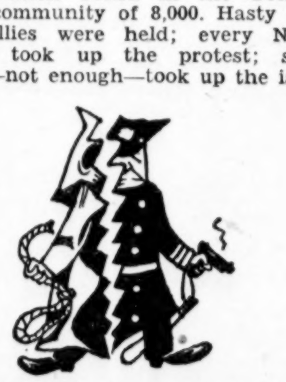
The ex-cop kicked up a row; the three brothers left, stood outside chatting. LaBensky followed them out, thrust his service revolver into Wyatt's stomach, said:

> **"I suppose you don't think I'd shoot?"**

As Wyatt backed away, LaBensky fired, killing him instantly. William ran into the tavern to call for help. When police arrived they found James had been shot too. He died in a hospital.

IT BOILS OVER: Westchester County Dist. Atty. George M. Fanelli was true to his record: three years ago he managed to whitewash those responsible for the reign of violence in Peekskill; he has failed to secure convictions in three recent killings of Negroes in Yonkers; he has been publicly accused of anti-Semitism. He held LaBensky on a charge of second-degree murder.

Indignation boiled in the Yonkers Negro community of 8,000. Hasty protest rallies were held; every Negro church took up the protest; some whites—not enough—took up the issue.



On March 27 a large rally was held which demanded the removal of Fanelli. Next day a grand jury returned a first-degree murder indictment.

Since then protests have mounted. On April 2 the local Communist Party held a dramatic dawn demonstration, distributing leaflets urging action to the employes of two of the world's largest factories of their kind: the Alexander Smith Carpet Mills and the Otis Elevator Co. On April 3 a delegation of 50 Negro and white women and children representing several community organizations in the Bronx journeyed to Yonkers to protest to the mayor and the city manager; they failed to see them but were promised a hearing.

MEMORIAL APRIL 14: The N. Y. State Civil Rights Congress called an emergency conference, called on Gov. Dewey to remove Fanelli and appoint a Negro special prosecutor to handle the case. The Natl. Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People set April 14 for a memorial service in the Westchester County Center in White Plains; speakers will include Rudolph Halley, president of the New York City Council; Bishop D. Ward Nichols of the A. M. E. Church; actor Canada Lee; Rev. William L. Hamilton, pastor of the Messiah Baptist Church of Yonkers; and Walter White, head of the NAACP.

The March murders

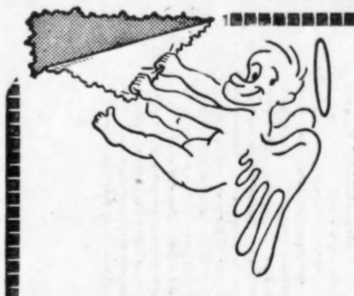
Yonkers was not alone in violence against Negroes. The CRC compiled this list of crimes for the month of March:

Birmingham, Ala.—Johnny L. Vann, 27, Negro World War II veteran, shot to death in his bedroom by a Birmingham policeman for "not dressing fast enough." Vann became the **fifty-third** Negro victim of Birmingham police murder in five years.

Deland, Fla.—Four Negroes were deliberately killed by three white autoists who drove the Negroes' car off the road. The white driver was held in jail only for "culpable negligence and intoxication." The other two were charged as accessories. All three have been released on $1,000 bond.

Hackensack, N. J.—Simon P. Parker, 26, was clubbed to death by a local policeman for "creating a disturbance."

Washington, D. C.—James Smallwood, 38, was shot and killed by George Medlin, a white patrolman who claimed "self-defense." Medlin was released by authorities without bond.



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- ☐ "WE CHARGE GENOCIDE," a "must" for every progressive bookshelf in America.
- ☐ King-size Batiste handkerchief from the Philippines, with hand-rolled hem.
- ☐ Three fine Irish linen women's handkerchiefs, 11" square, hemstitched.
- ☐ Charming gift box of three colorfully embroidered girls' handkerchiefs.

Something to hide?

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Enclosed is a letter AFL President Green sent to the International Economic Conference at Moscow in reply to their invitation for two representatives to participate. Without any doubt the reply is as reactionary as if the NAM had written it, as maybe they did. It certainly has that familiar ring.

As I see it, any time an organization can get the opportunity to send delegates to a conference being held in a socialist nation, they should do so. Unless the labor leaders have something to hide. Because from the delegates' reports of what they saw and debated could come a better understanding and viewpoint to millions of workers who are now kept in the dark by our own iron curtain. I am an AFL member and was shocked when I read Mr. Green's letter in our labor paper.

It is for this reason that I know the GUARDIAN must continue being published and all subscribers should not put off for a minute in helping in any way they can. Enclosed is a new sub. and a check to help a grand paper get bigger.

R. O. Stowe

Did God do it?

LEXINGTON, KY.

Clarence B. Randall, president of the Inland Steel Company, writing in the March, 1952, issue of **The Atlantic**, says: "If we honestly believe that the free-enterprise system is God's greatest gift to man, why can't we believe in it so clearly that we talk about it everywhere we are, to everybody who comes within the sound of our voice?"

I was surprised to learn that the "free-enterprise system" was God's gift to man.

R. L. Zimmerman

The I-Bomb

TIENTSIN, CHINA

United States planes have dropped germ bombs in North Korea, China's Northeast, and as far south as Tsingtao. U. S. painstaking preservation of Japanese bacteriological war criminals takes on added gruesome significance. Ishii Shiro, perverted inventor of this I-Bomb who was decorated by the Mikado for his germ experiments on Chinese people in Manchuria, is now being paid homage by the American military government! It is a well-known fact that U. S. medical units have been using patriotic Korean and Chinese volunteer POW's as guinea pigs in their germ experiments.

Chinese mass reaction to this further mad move of U. S. imperialism is definitely not fear but fight. Every Chinese man, woman and child, fully conscious of the infamy of this outrage and filled with hatred for its evil perpetrators, is out fighting this devilish weapon, determined that the monsters who rain pestilence and death on them will themselves be the ones to die.

Betty Chandler Chang

How crazy can you get dept.

BRISBANE, Australia (UP)—Thomas Hiley, leader of the Opposition in the Queensland Legislature, urged an open season on the jacksnipe [which] when the Siberian snow and ice blanket their food supplies, migrate to Australia. "I fail to see why the birds should be protected in Australia while they fatten before returning to Siberia for the Russians to eat," he said.

"They shouldn't be allowed into Australia at all," said another member. "They're Communists."

—N. Y. Daily News, Mar. 26.

In addition to 5 N. Y. C. readers, readers in Troy and Ardsley, N. Y., New Canaan, Conn., Urbana, Ill., and Gowganda, Ont., submitted the above item culled from a local sheet. Free 1-yr. sub prize goes to sender of first one received, Eugene Siegal, 220-67 73d Av., Bayside, N. Y.

No chauvinism

CHICAGO, ILL.

The GUARDIAN has come to occupy a highly treasured place in my wretched life; it is as an oasis in a sea of desert sand. There is a complete absence of the pitting of White against Negro, Jew against Gentile, native born against foreign born and, last but not least, male against female.

Raymond McMillan

Dulles: spiritual nausea

NEW YORK, N. Y.

In strong language, indicative of strong feeling, Emerson said that "to hear the word 'honor' from the lips of John Foster Dulles, that ing the word 'love' from the lips of a whore." I remember it each time there is some new pontification concerning "moral law" from the liups of John Foster Dulles, that "oleaginous old whited sepulchre from Sullivan and Cromwell," as I. F. Stone with inimitable felicity recently named him.

Charles Beard said of the late William Randolph Hearst that he was something no decent person would touch with a ten-foot pole. Then if hypocrisy be counted one of the deadliest of the deadly sins, the pole for Mr. Dulles should be ten times ten; for Hearst at least made little attempt to hide the immorality of his principles. To hear Mr. Dulles speak of the moral law, while quite obviously ignoring it, or of "God's holy purpose," as he did some time ago on the radio, induces an overwhelming spiritual nausea. Of such is the Era of Truman!

Berenice Noar

The Fremont tradition

AUSTIN, TEX.

I want to make a suggestion that might help the Progressive Party send Vincent Hallinan and Charlotta Bass to the White House in 1952: A campaign song in the spirit of the early Republican Party, when political pioneers like John C. Fremont and Abraham Lincoln stood for freedom and against oppression, and stood firm. Can't the GUARDIAN—or People's Artists, or the Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions—produce a good campaign song?

A journalist has recalled that the campaign song for the newly born Republican Party in 1856 was the following:

"Arise, arise ye braves,
And let our war-cry be
Free Speech Free Press, Free Soil, Free Men
Fre-mont and Victory!"

Certainly the Progressive Party is entitled to take over the Fremont-Lincoln tradition.

Oakley C. Johnson

Wall Street Journal

"I'm sorry. No firm could possibly lend fifty thousand to a man who needed it!"

We'll be watching

LYONS, NEB.

As I stood in our local post office today mailing letters to my peace-working friends, the town's Legion bigwig stood leering over my shoulder, noting the addresses, then said: "If you don't stop sending out such stuff, something is going to happen to you one of these days." I have written Congress asking if they have given Legion agents the right to appoint themselves Gestapo agents over me. So—if "something happens to me" you''ll know it was the Legion.

Mrs. Harvey Sydow

For peaceful play

CHICAGO, ILL.

An open letter to the Dominican Republic delegate to the UN:

In 1932 the Dominican Republic formally proposed to the League of Nations Disarmament Conference that all countries prohibit the manufacture of warlike toys. The motion was referred to a committee, where it died. May I respectfully suggest that your country, through you, again initiate the same proposal?

For a return to peace and sanity, I am, yours sincerely,

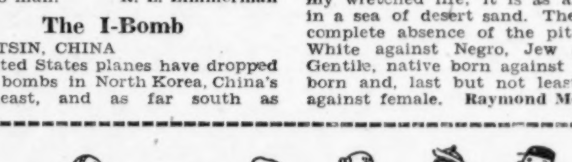
Dr. Ralph R. Sackley

Detroit on the spot

DETROIT, MICH.

I am one of two women who raised $350 for the Rosenbergs. We are trying to plan a similar affair for the GUARDIAN. I can't tell you how heartening each issue is—now more than ever since Detroit is "on the spot" (legally) and the divisive influences of fear and intimidation are more manifest.

A Detroiter



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The Progressive Party and the smoke-filled rooms

By C. B. Baldwin
Natl. Secy., Progressive Party

SPRING TRAINING IS OVER. Within a few days after we Progressives placed the peace ticket of Vincent Hallinan and Mrs. Charlotta Bass in the field, Taft partially recovered from the 104,000 Minnesota write-in for Eisenhower by winning in Wisconsin and Nebraska—and the President bowed out.

Truman's retirement will make it easier for the boys in the back room to repair the Democratic machine—but not the widespread resentment against his policies which caused him to give up. The Truman foreign policy—which is also the foreign policy of the Republicans—has made it impossible to fulfill or perhaps even to repeat the domestic promises which won in 1948. The price-wage-tax squeeze of the military program has cut the real income of workers. Independent voters are alarmed by growing militarism and intolerance. Negro citizens, fighting for their lives, have lost faith in unfulfilled promises for civil rights. Farmers are moving out of the party as the arms boom undermines their stability.

The Korean War sealed the failure of that foreign policy. Polls amply confirm the judgment offered by **Newsweek** that the Korean War is the most unpopular in our history.

THE ISSUE OF CORRUPTION spearheads this popular resentment of 1952. The bosses can shrug off corruption—but not the steam behind it boiling up on other issues, a political fact which Kefauver repudiates in his attempt to polevault into the nomination on the issue of corruption, hobbled by a MacArthur-like foreign policy.

What the machines can't shrug off is the serious split between conservative and liberal wings of the Democratic Party reflecting the basic disaffections. The liberal wing—labor, the Negro people, small farmers, independent voters and the machines influenced by them in part—might elect a nominee if the bosses nominated him. But the conservative wing—Russell, Byrd, the Dixiecrat states' rights men, Jim Farley, the older machines and big city powerhouses—hold the veto power.

The first job for the boys in the back room is to patch up the machine, putting together the leadership of Southerners who vote with Republicans as on tidelands oil last week and the Northern machines which must appeal to labor and Negro groups. The firing of Newbold Morris, which had the President's approval, and the replacement of McGrath by McGranery, both products of the powerhouse machines, reassure the bosses that business will be conducted as usual at the old stand.

A candidate to keep the machine together in a period of defeat would be a Barkley, but he is too old. This has brought forward a Stevenson-Russell proposal. It is significant that Stevenson, widely touted as a liberal, in his first TV appearance after Truman's announcement made his bid not to the liberal, labor and Negro vote but to the conservative bosses—by declaring for states rights on the civil rights issues and approving Taft-Hartley "with minor amendments."

BUT THERE IS A REVOLT of the voters in Democratic ranks. And the boys in the back room will have to stem the rush to the exit. In early 1948, when Jimmy Roosevelt, the ADA and Phil Murray were making desperate appeals to Eisenhower against Truman, Truman countered with his Fair Deal, anti-Taft-Hartley, pro-civil rights, and Brannan Plan campaign. These promises, rendered worthless by his foreign policy, will be harder to repeat, even harder to swallow in 1952, particularly since the rank-and-file revolt is beginning to seek a clear alternative to the Truman-Republican foreign policy.

The movement for Justice Douglas reflects this desire to raise the issue among Democrats and others who oppose the Truman foreign policy. What is lacking in that movement is any labor leadership and practical means of enlisting labor mass support in order to break through the bosses' veto. Douglas realizes this hard political fact in the Democratic Party—and has plainly indicated he will not run as an independent.

PROGRESSIVES HAVE THE REAL and practical job of guaranteeing that whatever happens in or out of the Democratic Party, there will be a genuine peaceful alternative offered to the voters. That means putting the Progressive Party on the ballot in every possible state. The outstanding success in doing so in Pennsylvania and New Jersey in March makes the peace vote decisive in the most crucial states.

Our job is to put peace on the ballot in every state, to work and canvass for signatures for Hallinan and Bass—and not to lose the chance to vote in November by dabbling with futile Democratic primaries in May.

Moscow makes its biggest peace bid

(Continued from Page 1)

- Soviet purchases of 1 to 1¼ billion dollars in U.S. markets.
- Substantial increase in pre-war trade volume with Italy, taking power equipment, cranes, ballbearings, ships, textiles, rayon, citrus fruits, in exchange for grain, timber, coal, fuel oil, paraffin, iron ore, manganese.
- Close to a billion dollars in trade with West Germany, buying machine tools, electrical equipment, pumps, compressors and selling grain, timber, manganese, chrome and oil products.
- Soviet purchase from the Netherlands of ships, hoisting equipment, radios, rubber, tin, staple fibres and sales of grain, timber, coal. From Belgium, power equipment, hoisting machinery, ships, rolled metal, rayon fibres and consumer goods.
- From the underdeveloped countries the U.S.S.R. would buy two to four billion dollars' worth of raw materials, and sell machinery, machine tools, and other equipment needed to help their industrialization.

Daily Worker, London

"Any volunteers for general secretary of NATO?"

"NO EFFORT WASTED": The offer was followed by a discussion between Stalin and the retiring Indian Ambassador to Moscow, Sir Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, which "Moscow observers assessed as one of the most important diplomatic events of recent months" (Salisbury, **NYT**, 3/7). The ambassador commented:

> "After my interview with Stalin I feel there is no outstanding problem now dividing the world which could not be settled by discussion and negotiation. It would be unwise to bank the door against every approach and give up the task as impossible. No effort is wasted and every effort should be made to get top people together."

In Washington, Rep. Victor Anfuso (D-N.Y.) agreed, promising constituents who visited him with the American Peace Crusade's Delegates' Assembly for Peace (April 1) to send a telegram to the head of every large state in the world urging negotiations for peace.

Official Washington turned down the succession of Soviet initiatives. Its reply to the Soviet note on Germany was virtually a rejection; Stalin's statement was "nothing new . . . propaganda." The State Dept. had ordered U.S. businessmen to keep away from the Moscow conference. A high U.S. government official told the N.Y. **Times** (4/6) the "grandiose" Soviet trade offer was a "bluff," proof that the Western blockade is hurting Soviet economy, and wouldn't came to anything anyway. Washington officials (quoted by the **Times**, 4/7) called the offer a "dud"; threatened other nations that acceptance would mean the end of U.S. aid and even of normal U.S. trade; urged quick passage of the Mutual Security Act, the "U.S. trump card" which would give Washington's allies 5.4 billion dollar's worth of arms and 2.5 billion of commodities and technical assistance—a far better deal, they said, than the Soviet trade proposals.

THE GERMAN CANCER: Washington's answers deepened the crisis of its policies. In Germany, **Wall St. Journal** foreign editor Joseph E. Evans found (4/3) that U.S. policymakers were unable to produce "a constructive idea" to answer the Russians, predicted they "may well see, before this game is played out, their European policy bankrupted and Germany lost, one way or another, to the Soviets." Noting that U.S. policy has in fact been aimed at a "Western community" based on the division of Germany (economically a "monster," politically "a cancer, most malignant"), Evans pointed out that "U.S. policymakers can only regard German unity as a threat to their Western community." But German unity and nationalism are, as Walter Lippmann wrote (4/1), "facts of life" which U.S. policy cannot dismiss; and it is impossible for the Western powers to claim any longer "that their present policies mean unification of Europe."

Chancellor Adenauer was still trying to play this game. But so strong was the popular demand for unity that to get parliament's approval to continue negotiations for a German contract with the West he had to shift ground to argue such negotiations would facilitate negotiations with Russia; had to accept a resolution calling unity "the highest goal of German policy," and another to request the allies to arrange free all-German elections. The West's real attitude on free elections was indicated by Russell Hill (N.Y. **Herald Tribune**, 4/5) who commented:

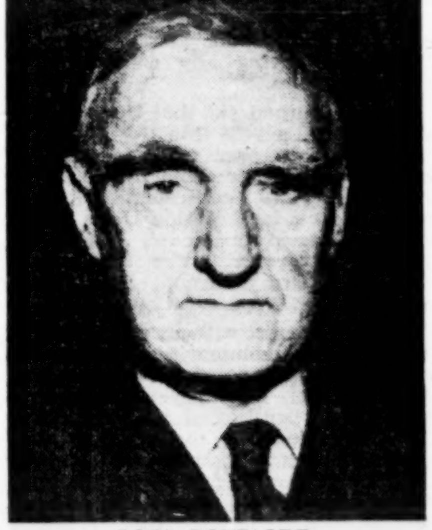
> This is embarrassing to the Western allies, who are still hoping that the Russians will not take them up on this one. Nothing is better calculated than the prospect of such elections to put a crimp in plans for West German rearmament.

Washington has openly admitted that the "defense program" aims at the overthrow of present regimes in East Europe. Bonn Secy. of State Walter Hallstein said in Washington March 12 that his government's goal was "unity of Europe up to the Urals." His statement (not published here) roused a storm of protest in West Germany where the press is almost universally demanding unity and becoming increasingly critical of the U.S.

"A NEW PHASE": The impact of the Soviet trade proposals was yet to come; but the **Times** (4/6) admitted "a number of the delegates [to the conference] including many business figures from Western Europe and Asian countries" were impressed. While **Times** "Soviet expert" Harry Schwartz turned somersaults to prove nothing could come of the proposals, Anne O'Hare McCormick (**Times, 4/7**) admitted that the offer

> . . . promises substantial relief from some pressing problems to nearly every capitalist country. Britain is offered orders from Russia sufficient to take up the slack in the textile mills of Lancashire. Italy would get enough to keep her partly idle shipyards fully employed. West Germany would have a two billion ruble market for her machine tools, electrical equipment and pumps. Japan could dispose of her surplus silks and textiles. . . . It would be a great mistake for Americans to underestimate the widespread appeal to Western nations of a Soviet offer to open the old channels of world trade. . . . [The deal] if it were honestly meant, would help to stabilize the capitalist system . . . it cannot be dismissed as a propaganda move. It opens a new phase of the East-West contest. . . .

The Chinese delegation in Moscow announced it wanted to buy both capital and consumer goods in Britain, and made a special plea for trade with the U.S. and Japan (which was not represented owing to government refusal of passports to delegates). In negotiations with the Chinese, British, French and Italian delegations were already developing sharp competition for textile sales. Some members of the British delegation—headed by Sir John Boyd Orr, former head of the UN Food & Agricultural Commission, who urged the conference to "bust the iron curtain" by increased East-West trading—said they would go on to Peking to nail down contracts.



LORD BOYD ORR

He doesn't believe the bear bites

From the U.S. came four businessmen—one, Carl Sullivan, is Progressive Party candidate for Congress in California—and seven trade unionists. (Letters to the N.Y. **Times, Wall St. Journal** and other papers from businessmen who wanted to attend complained of the State Dept's ban.) Argentina was the only non-Communist nation to send official delegates, but Mexico's government and Chamber of Commerce sent observers, and two of Brazil's delegates were reported to be unofficial Foreign Ministry emissaries.

Anti-colonial revolt grows throughout Africa

ON Sunday in Johannesburg, South Africa, "several thousand non-whites marched into Fordsburg Freedom Square to the tune of Paul Robeson songs played over a loudspeaker" (N.Y. **Times**, 4/7). When Dr. Moroka, head of the African National Congress, arrived, the crowd saluted him with clenched fists with the thumb held aloft. A "plan of action for defiance of unjust laws," involving defiance of pass laws and the Group Areas Act, the entering of libraries and other buildings from which non-whites are barred, and the using of park benches reserved for "Europeans only," was unfolded at the meeting. Another meeting will be held April 26 to review the results of Sunday's meetings, launch a mass civil disobedience movement.

As colonial powers strove to recoup losses in Asia by increased exploitation of their African colonies, national movements for liberation from colonial rule took on new vigor in Africa. In French Morocco resentment at France's brushing aside of the demand for greater autonomy rose to serious proportions on Mar. 30, proclaimed as a day of mourning for loss of freedom. (The demand had been raised since Nov., 1950, by the Sultan prodded by the Istiqlal Party; the U.S., which is building five bomber bases in Morocco without even notifying the Sultan, aided France in preventing the issue from being discussed in UN.)

On April 3 Spanish and French tanks—supported by a British gunboat in the harbor—rolled into the internationalized city of Tangier (ruled by representatives of eight powers including the U.S., who permit no political organizations or unions) to prevent any popular uprising. In Washington, D.C., Congressional inquiry disclosed widespread corruption and profiteering in the construction of Morocco air bases by U.S. contractors.

TERROR IN TUNIS: A reign of terror had descended on the French protectorate of Tunisia, where a handful of Frenchmen control the country's wealth of phosphates, ferrous metals, lead, zinc, lignite and agricultural products. When the Tunisians demanded not freedom but "home rule," the French government began wholesale arrests of Tunisian political and labor leaders, numbering more than 10,000, and including Habib Bourguiba, anti-Communist leader of the Neo-Destour Party, and the two Communist Party leaders, Maurice Nisard and Mohammed Ennafaa.

The Neo-Destour demands had the support of the Bey of Tunis, of the anti-Communist Intl. Conf'dn. of Free Trade Unions, of the AFL and CIO in the U.S. The French had nevertheless carried on — according to the Bey's ministers—

> . . . looting, wanton destruction, and cruelty and mass arrests . . . in the course of "raking" operations (N. Y. Times, 2/2).

One appeal to UN by the Tunisians was referred to the French delegation by UN Secy.-Gen. Lie. Eventually French Resident General de Hautecloque cracked down hard, forced the 70-year-old Bey to dismiss the cabinet of Premier Chenik, arrested Chenik and replaced him with pro-French Salaeddine Baccouche. To "pacify" the people, Paris sent Gen. Pierre Garbay, who had "pacified" Madagascar in 1947 by massacring thousands of its people. The French promised a few mild concessions which, as labor leader Farhart Hached said, were "unacceptable" to all Tunisians.

DR. J. S. MOROKA

Injustice long enough

But almost no one could be found to join the Baccouche cabinet. When Hedi Nouira, a moderate Neo-Destour leader, refused to join, the French government arrested him too.

HOT POTATO AT UN: Twelve Asian-African countries requested UN to put Tunisia on the agenda. The delegates from Afghanistan, Burma, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Liberia, Pakistan, the Philippines, Saudi Arabia and Yemen brought the request to the Security Council on April 4, when Pakistan's Dr. Ahmed Bokhari became Council president. The U.S. was reported intending to abstain from voting (at the Lisbon conference Tunisia was included in the automatic defense zone of NATO).

In asking for inclusion of Tunisia on the agenda Bokhari said if the Council refused to discuss the question it would be telling "practically the whole of Asia . . . you can go to hell." He warned that an abstention would be considered by the Asians and Africans as equivalent to a negative vote. Before adjournment Bokhari was supported by the delegates from Chile and Brazil; two Tunisian leaders, Bahi Ladgham and Farhart Hached, had arrived at UN.

INDIA CRISIS: In India, where the Nehru government had promised food self-sufficiency first by 1951 and then by 1952, thousands were reported starving in the state of Madras; the government was doling out every 24 hours to each woman, child and old person one cup of thin gruel—"swill of quality that no good American farmer wuld expect pigs to thrive on" (**Times**, 3/29). Meanwhile (**Wall St. Journal**, 4/1) "India's post-Korea fling of rupee whoopee is over"; after an unchecked spree of inflation, prices were tumbling, burlap and pepper selling at half price; unemployment rose, and India was faced with reduction of its buying of U.S. machinery, cotton and grain.

In Vietnam, despite napalm bombing and heavy U.S. assistance, "a high French official" (**Times**, 2/25) said he "did not believe a decisive victory was possible." Claude Bourdet wrote in the Paris **Observateur** that the Bao Dai crowd has been selling U.S. equipment to the Vietminh forces in the Kuomintang pattern, that the Bank of Indo-China and speculators in the piastre-franc exchange racket are making huge profits, and that French policy in Vietnam is largely dictated by U.S. desire to keep Indo-China warm.

In Malaya, according to **Reuters** (4/5), the British have decided to increase use of chemical warfare against the Malayan revolutionaries.

IS THE U. S. GOVERNMENT IN THE FRAME-UP BUSINESS?

Judith Coplon and the first "Russian Spy" case

When Ethel and Julius Rosenberg were sentenced to death as "Russian atom spies" the climax was reached in a series of sensational "spy trials" which have step by step advanced cold-war hysteria on the domestic propaganda front. These trials have played a major part in building up over the past three years the concept of progressives as ipso facto traitors to their country; in spreading fear and suspicion throughout the U.S.; in replacing the American tradition of individual guilt with guilt by association; in softening up the people to acceptance of a ruinous war program and a concentration camp system for political dissenters.

The consistent pattern of illegality in these trials—already documented by the GUARDIAN in the Rosenberg and Alger Hiss cases—raises suspicions of a deliberate frame-up campaign by the government against liberals and progressives for specific propaganda purposes. The setting of this pattern in the first of the "spy trials"—that of Judith Coplon, who denounced her arrest as a frame-up and the whole "loyalty" program as "contemptible"—is the subject of this week's article.

By William A. Reuben
GUARDIAN special correspondent

ON May 14, 1948, the Attorney General of the United States sent this note to a Justice Dept. employe who had just been promoted:

> Dear Miss Judith:
> P-3 is really an accomplishment—and I congratulate you on it. . . . Keep up the good work.

Both Texan-born Tom Clark who sent it, and Brooklyn-born Judith Coplon who received it, were destined to play leading roles in a cold-war drama that began less than a year later, on March 4, 1949—and apparently ended last January, when a Supreme Court ruling seemed to ring down the curtain on America's first "Russian spy" case.

Two long trials in Washington and New York resulting in sentences totaling 25 years in jail, and two years of litigation ensuing from them, have produced a host of contradictory court rulings. Out of the confusion a few bare facts emerge as to the activities of the defendant and her government.

TWO AMERICANS: Judith Coplon has had her name and reputation destroyed, her brilliant career ruined, her job chances killed because:

- She met a dozen-odd times with a United Nations official who was a Soviet national, Valentin A. Gubitchev (a lawful act);
- She had in her purse, when arrested, papers used in connection with her work as a Justice Dept. political analyst (lawful possession).

Tom Clark has been elevated to the lofty prestige and lifetime financial security of a seat on the U.S. Supreme Court. This reward came to him one month after the conviction of a "Russian spy" captured by his department, in a prosecution marked by:

- An illegal arrest;
- Illegal wiretapping;
- Wholesale perjury by FBI agents:
- Illegal seizure of papers from Miss Coplon's person;
- Unlawful destruction of government records;
- Flagrant denial of the defendant's right to a fair trial, by wiretapping during the course of the trial of conversations between her and her attorney;
- Deliberate misrepresentation and falsification of charges against her.

ILLEGALITY UNLIMITED: Although the surface facts of the Coplon case are widely known, the reasons for originally investigating her have been veiled in mystery. In the government's press release announcing her arrest, Atty. Gen. Clark was quoted as saying that the FBI investigation

> . . . was originally initiated as a part of the Federal Employee Loyalty Program . . . [and] the resulting investigation disclosed clandestine meetings between Miss Coplon and Gubitchev.

The meetings admittedly took place in popular mid-town Manhattan restaurants, in crowded art museums and in broad daylight in public places. Their "clandestinity" may be open to question, but the blatant illegality of the government's role is not:

WIRETAPPING, under the Communications Act of 1934, is a federal crime punishable by two years' imprisonment and a $10,000 fine. Yet, during pre-trial hearings in the New York Coplon trial, FBI agents blandly confessed that 46 agents had monitored Miss Coplon's parents' telephone in Brooklyn, and her telephones in Washington.

PERJURY is a crime defined as the willful misstatement, under oath, of a material fact in a legal inquiry—punishable by five years in prison and a $2,000 fine. Yet, in the Washington trial, FBI agents who later admitted they were in charge of the wiretapping swore under oath it never took place.

SUBORNING OF PERJURY is a crime bearing the same penalties as perjury. Yet in the Washington trial the two prosecutors, Raymond P. Whearty and John Kelley, who at the time had in their possession FBI reports showing the wiretapping, remained silent as their witnesses perjured themselves.

DESTRUCTION OF GOVERNMENT RECORDS is a crime punishable by three years' imprisonment, a $2,000 fine, forfeit of office and disqualification of the right ever to hold a position with the U.S. Government. Yet on Nov. 7, 1949—the very day that Federal Judge William Bondy in New York, upholding a defense motion, filed an order for a pre-trial hearing on the issue of false arrest (he was taken off the case immediately after granting this defense motion, and the case then was placed under Judge Sylvester Ryan)—an FBI directive marked "not to be sent to the files" went out from Washington pertaining to the agents who wiretapped Miss Coplon's Brooklyn phone, saying:

> . . . In view of the imminency of her trial, it is recommended . . . that all administrative records in the New York office covering the operation of this informant be destroyed.

OBSTRUCTING JUSTICE is a crime carrying a penalty of five years' imprisonment and a $5,000 fine. Yet, although a half-dozen FBI agents were clearly shown to be participating in such a conspiracy, none has ever been prosecuted for this crime, any more than for the crimes of destroying government records, perjury, subornation of perjury or wiretapping.

ILLEGAL ARREST: The arrest itself was entirely unlawful, as the U.S. 2nd Court of Appeals subsequently ruled. Since the Coplon trials, the FBI's powers of arrest were broadened by Congress, largely because of FBI spokesmen having cited the difficulties in the Coplon case. But at the time of Judith Coplon's arrest these powers were very narrowly constricted by Congress: the FBI could make an arrest without warrant, only if there were (1) reasonable grounds for believing "the person arrested is guilty of such felony" as he is charged with; and (2) "a likelihood of his escaping before a warrant can be obtained."

As to the second requirement, the Government conceded to the court that the FBI agents who made the arrests "could have obtained warrants and made arrests the following day or possibly even later that night, since they knew the home address of both persons." As to the first requirement, the FBI's "reasonable grounds" for making the arrest were based—according to all the known information, evidence or "leads" produced in the three years since then—only on the fact that a U.S. government employe was associating with a Soviet national.

ALBERT AND JUDY COPLON SOCOLOV AND DAUGHTER
The first "spy" is now free on bail: will her government try again?

PLANNED FBI LAW-BREAKING: FBI Agent Robert Granville, who was in charge of surveillance of Miss Coplon and Gubitchev on the night of Mar. 4, testified that he ordered their arrest because of his belief that—during a 15-minute interval when the couple were not under surveillance—Miss Coplon had passed papers to Gubitchev. Granville admittedly had no knowledge of their behavior during this 15-minute interval; the necessary inference is that the FBI operates on the theory that all Soviet citizens, and consequently all Americans having any contact with them, are spies.

When it turned out that the couple's behavior did not fit into this theory—for no papers ever were passed between them—the government revamped its theory. In flat contradiction to the stated reason for ordering the arrests, it now claimed the couple attempted to pass papers with the implication that they were prevented from doing so only by FBI intervention.

Since the arrest without warrant was illegal, the accompanying search of Miss Coplon's person without a warrant was also illegal; yet the papers seized from her turned out to provide the foundation for the government's case. Nor can it possibly be claimed that the failure to get a warrant was due to "oversight," since no less than 25 FBI men instead of the usual six were shadowing the couple on the night of their arrest; elaborate preparations to stay over at New York FBI headquarters to await Miss Coplon's arrest. Plainly no warrant was obtained because no warrant could be legal.

THE HANDBAG PAPERS: Found in Miss Coplon's purse were 34 "data slips" prepared by herself from FBI reports; several character sketches of persons she had known in Washington; and a decoy memorandum referring to the A-bomb that her department head had given her shortly before her arrest.

In both trials the defense was geared to meet the Government's charges that it was "unlawful" for her to have all of these papers in her possession. But at the Washington trial she established that it was in the nature of her duties to take work home with her; that her job called for her to analyze FBI reports; that the reports found on her were to be used to prepare for a Civil Service examination the next week; that the character sketches were for a book she planned on the life of a government girl, which she had an appointment to discuss with a N.Y. publisher; and that the decoy memorandum had been given her by her superior with instructions to study it over the week-end.

(This man, William E. Foley, denied telling her to take the memo away, insisting he merely said it was "hot and interesting"; however, although a microphone had been planted in Miss Coplon's office, the FBI agent who monitored it claimed it suddenly went dead when that conversation took place.)

SUDDENLY "LAWFUL": In Washington the defense, over strenuous government objections, introduced the full FBI reports from which the "data slips" were extracted, disclosing an absurd collection of gossip on prominent Americans like Frederic March and "confidential information" consisting of press releases on Soviet films. The "secret" material was so laughable that in the New York trial the Government amended its charge, stating now that the papers had been "lawfully" in Miss Coplon's possession. But the defense never knew this until after the jury had retired, when it was inadvertently disclosed through a request made by the jurors during their deliberations to inspect the indictment. It showed that the charges were based on "lawful" possession, although the "true copy" given the defense attorneys by the prosecutors called it "unlawful." The U.S. explanation: typographical error.

QUESTIONS TO ASK: The Government's persistent use of illegal acts throughout the case suggests a powerful motive to come up with a "Russian spy" case—even if manufactured.

Because of the tangled legal status of the case, further information clarifying the "mystery" of Judith Coplon's arrest is unlikely to be forthcoming. But the timing of this first "Russian spy" case prompts students of the development of the cold war to ask what was the real connection between the scare-headlined Coplon case and:

- ECA Administrator Paul G. Hoffman's charge two months earlier of a Soviet "drive" to "take over the world?"
- The Un-American Activities Committee and N.Y. grand jury investigations of "Communist espionage" which were taking place in January of 1949—culminating in an Un-AAC statement that "beyond a doubt" the primary purpose of the U.S. CP was espionage?
- Tom Clark's January demands to Congress that it pass drastic new laws to broaden the FBI's powers in espionage cases and up FBI appropriation?
- The Truman Administration's initiation of the first thought-control program in U.S. history, and the trial of the Communist 11?
- The re-introduction, two days after Judith Coplon's arrest, of the Mundt-Nixon Bill (defeated the year before—now established as the law of the land in its McCarran Act version)?

Did Judith Coplon hit the nail on the head when, passionately reasserting her innocence after her conviction, she told the court in Washington:

> "The newspapers said that I was hysterical. I wasn't hysterical then; I am not hysterical now. . . . They [the government and the press] are the hysterical ones. They want the people to be hysterical."

These are some of your foreign-born neighbors threatened with loss of their homes and families and jobs and human rights

CLAUDIA JONES
She's 34, born Br. West Indies, 25 yrs. in U. S., New Yorker, secy. Natl. Women's Committee Communist Party.

JOSEPH WEBER
He's 46, born Yugoslavia, 36 yrs. in U. S., union member since 13, organized rubber, steel, coal, farm equipment workers.

ESTHER SAZER
She's 50, born Russia, 45 yrs. in U. S., from Los Angeles, mother of veteran, grandmother, member Ind. Office Workers.

PETER HARISIADES
He's 51, born Greece, 35 yrs. in U. S., father of two, former editor "Greek American Tribune," secy. Natl. Hellenic Soc.

KATHERINE HYNDMAN
She's 43, born Yugoslavia, 38 yrs. in U. S., wife of steelworker, received many citations for community work.

14 Million foreign born in U.S. in danger

By Abner Green
Exec. Secy., Amer. Comm. for Protection of Foreign Born

WHEN the Supreme Court handed down decisions Mar. 10 on the Harisiades deportation case and the "Terminal Island Four" bail case, a perilous step was taken toward depriving 14,000,000 foreign born in the U. S. of all human rights.

These decisions declare past membership in the Communist Party a deportable offense, and that bail can be denied pending deportation proceedings. They deal specifically with non-citizens. But coupled with provisions of existing repressive legislation they set legal and political precedents for a wave of deportation and denaturalization proceedings, the like of which this nation has never seen—and in which the particular political form of opposition to an anti-democratic government will not be important. Unless reversed by the people, they will result in imposition of fascist, police-state conditions of living, first on our foreign-born and eventually on the whole population.

Once again our foreign born have been singled out for an ignoble experiment. They have become the testing ground of the war hysteria and the developing conspiracy to destroy the Bill of Rights and the people's liberties.

THE BASE OF ATTACK: All minorities—racial, national, and political—are scapegoats of the drive to war. The Negro people see a policy of genocide being practiced against them by the government. Increased outbursts of anti-Semitism all over the country threaten the Jewish people. Educators, trade unionists, doctors, lawyers—any and every person who believes in peace and democratic rights — are today threatened by un-American reaction.

At the base of this attack is the implementation of the 1940 Smith Act in the life of our country, utilized to jail leaders of the U. S. Communist Party and arrest dozens of others solely because of their political opinions.

The decisions in the Harisiades and "Terminal Island Four" cases are based on the Supreme Court's decision of June 4, 1951, in the Dennis case, which upheld the constitutionality of the Smith Act and the jailing of citizens because of their political views. This is true in the legal sense, as cursory reading of the Mar. 10 decisions shows. It is even truer in the broad political sense: that the jailing of Communists creates an atmosphere which makes possible still greater incursions on the liberties of all sections of the people.

THE TARGET IS YOU: It has become urgently necessary to realize that our foreign born are a scapegoat. It is the American people, native as well as foreign born, who are the real victims of the deportation drive. The Smith and McCarran laws are primarily concerned not with the foreign born, but with stifling the voices of native Americans as a handful of reactionaries relentlessly hack away at the cornerstones of democracy.

Responsibility for defending the foreign born rests, then, with the American people. It is a grave responsibility.

AMERICA'S TRUE VOICE: The Supreme Court majority has subordinated the people's interests to the inciters of war hysteria and proponents of a police state. But the court of last resort, the people itself, is still to be heard from—as in 1800 when they nullified and threw out the Alien and Sedition Laws under the leadership of Jefferson.

It was this feeling to which Justice Black gave expression in his dissenting opinion in the "Terminal Island Four" case, when he said:

> **My belief is that we must have freedom of speech, press and religion for all or we may eventually have it for none. . . . This freedom is too dangerous for bad, tyrannical governments to permit. But those who wrote and adopted our First Amendment weighed those dangers against the dangers of censorship and deliberately chose the First Amendment's unequivocal command that freedom of assmbly, petition, speech and press shall not be abridged.**

The position taken by Justice Black and the other minority members of the Supreme Court must receive the support of all Americans who believe in the Bill of Rights. A people's movement in defense of the rights of the foreign born must be encouraged to give expression to the broad resentment that exists against the Mar. 10 decisions.

FIGHTERS WE NEED: Deportation threatens to become the most vicious form of political terror ever exercised by American reaction. Non-citizens and naturalized citizens who have spent most of their lives in this country may be torn from their families and sent to countries whose language and customs they do not know. To many deportation might mean death, in fascist countries like Greece or Spain.

We must extend our full support to those who are determined to fight to remain here, where they belong. We need them in the fight which is both ours and theirs to preserve our democratic liberties in a nation at peace.

"Communists" today . . . Catholics, Jews tomorrow?

In affirming government moves to deport foreign-born citizens as well as non-citizens on allegations of Communist affiliations, Justice Frankfurther stated in his opinion concurring with the majority (Black and Douglas dissenting):

> **. . . whether immigration laws . . . may have reflected xenophobia [fear of foreigners] in general or anti-Semitism or anti-Catholicism, the responsibility belongs to Congress. . . .**

This decision approves summary deportation on alleged political grounds today, or on religious or other grounds whenever a reactionary Congress may pass enabling laws.

In cooperation with the American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born, NATIONAL GUARDIAN devotes the accompanying pages to important aspects of this situation with the intention of alerting GUARDIAN readers to the urgency of defeating present and proposed discriminatory immigration laws.

What the McCarran-Walter bills do

THE latest repressive legislation from the poison pen of Sen. Pat McCarran (D-Nev.) lies concealed in the companion McCarran-Walter bills—S. 2550; H. R. 5678—ostensibly a codification of existing immigration laws.

- Chief among the jokers in the proposed new legislation is a clause granting agents of the Immigration and Naturalization Service "power without warrant to interrogate any alien or person believed to be an alien" and to hold them without bail for deportation for "purpose to engage in" activities deemed subversive by the Attorney-General.

This would establish the principle of "preventive arrest" and is designed to set the stage for mass roundup of alleged aliens as in the Palmer Raids 30 years ago.

- In "codifying" existing immigration legislation, the measures establish quotas which are frankly discriminatory on a racist basis. Quotas for Great Britain and Germany are set at 90,000 annually; for all Asia, 200. Heretofore quotas for the British West Indies were included in Britain's general quota; the McCarran-Walter bill set up a separate quota of 100 a year from the Br. Indies. This would cut present such immigration by 90%.

- The Attorney-General would be enabled to exclude individuals for "reason to believe" they might engage in activities "prejudicial to the public interest." A new crime of conspiracy to "allow" or "permit" such individuals to enter the U. S. is established, with a penalty of $5,000 fine or five years in jail. This would permit action against organizations inviting peace spokesmen, etc., to the U. S.

- An alien who "shall wilfully fail or refuse to present himself for deportation at the time and place required by the Attorney-General" can be sent to jail for ten years; on the other hand the Attorney-General can refuse to deport an alien to a country where in his discretion the deportee's presence might be "prejudicial to the interests of the U. S." The Attorney-General may send a deportee to any country willing to accept him, but the deportee cannot make a free choice of such a country. Given the opportunity, for example, numerous countries might accept Peter Harisiades; but the Attorney-General is enabled to rule out any nation other than Greece, where Harisiades faces possible death.

- Naturalization can be canceled for "concealment of a material fact or by willful misrepresentation." This is interpreted to mean that individuals may be denaturalized for prior unreported acts or beliefs later ruled "subversive."

Urge your Congressmen and Senators to oppose this legislation and not to vote for any alleged substitutes such as are now being discussed among so-called "liberal" members of Congress. The last time the "liberals" rewrote a McCarran law, the result was to include concentration camps over and above all other features.

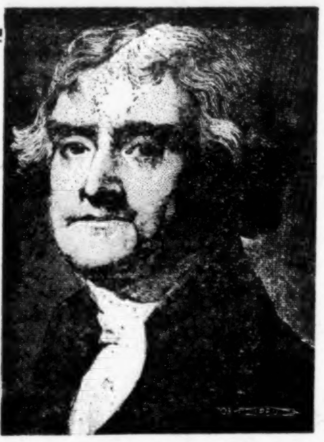
MARY, KUHN & TAHN HYUN
Wife and sons of David Hyun, one of the "Terminal Island Four," facing deportation to Korea. He's been in the U. S. 29 of his 33 years.

"The . . . alien has indeed been selected as the safest subject of a first experiment; but the citizen will soon follow, or rather, has already followed, for already has a sedition act marked him as its prey."

THOMAS JEFFERSON

(April 13, 1743—July 4, 1826)

On the Alien & Sedition Laws of 1798



BEHIND THE DEPORTATION DRIVE

The target is labor

THIRTY years ago Atty. Gen. A. Mitchell Palmer, assisted by FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover, went on his notorious rampage—with "lawful" backing. To the Act of October, 1918, originally passed to curb activity of enemy aliens in World War I, was attached a last-minute rider paving the way for the Palmer Raids. Thousands were rounded up and thrown in jail, skulls were broken, violence was provoked and general mayhem continued during the "red scare" of the '20's.

That the Raids were a plot masterminded to destroy organization of the unorganized in the growing trade union movement, few will now deny. In that period it was the American Fedn. of Labor that mobilized the fight to beat back the Raids.

Today there is no divorcing the wave of questioning, deportation and denaturalization proceedings from the whole drive to silence and break militant labor. The Bridges case alone makes this clear (GUARDIAN, Mar. 19). But labor is only partially awake to the fact.

Of over 250 cases of deportation for political beliefs, more than two-thirds are of persons whose persecution can be specifically traced to past or present union activity. An important percentage of U.S. labor leadership are foreign-born but have been denied citizenship, as in the case of Norman Tallentire, because of their militant labor backgrounds and activities.

FIGHT IN THE CANNERIES: The most graphic example of Justice Dept.-style union-busting is the case of Local 37 of the Intl. Longshoremen's Union. Within two years the Justice Dept. has arrested its president and business agent, illegally jailed scores and harassed hundreds of members and officers, started deportation proceedings against nine officers and members, interfered with contract negotiations, tried to bribe officials and rank-and-filers to become stoolpigeons.

The reason is not far to seek. In 1933, workers in Alaska canneries—many of them Filipinos—earned about $30 a month, working 12 hours a day. Fish heads and rice were the diet, living conditions were intolerable, hiring was controlled by contractors and workers were forced to pay for their jobs. Today cannery workers get $250 a month, have a union hiring hall and living conditions improved many fold. In achieving this two Filipino union leaders were killed in cold blood, but Local 37 was built and built strong.

Ernesto Mangaoang, Chris Mensalvos, Casimiro Absolar, Ponce Torres, Joe Prudencio, Pete Carbonay, Constancio Cargado, Jose Raymundo and Ramon Tancioco, leaders and members of the Local, face deportation because they wouldn't sell the union out.

THE CRIME OF MILITANCY: Ferdinand Smith of the Natl. Maritime Union, forced to take refuge abroad, was a victim of the deportation drive as a weapon against militant labor. Myer Klig and Jack Schneider, leaders of Intl. Fur & Leather Workers; Peter Warhol, CIO Woodworkers; Refugio Ramon Martinez, former organizer for Packing; Charles A. Doyle, former intl. vice-pres. of CIO Chemical Workers; John Mastrondea, member of United Auto Workers; William Weber, AFL Bakers Union; Joseph Lukas, AFL Printers; Esther Sazer, Independent Office Workers—all have been persecuted for past or present trade union activity. Antonia Sentner of St. Louis is being harassed by the Justice Dept. which is trying to use her as a hostage for her husband Bill Sentner, UE organizer and native-born citizen.

Having tried everything else—goons, red-baiting, frame-ups, raids, stoolpigeons—the bosses via the Justice Dept. have taken up the weapon of deportation in the hope that it will succeed where all these failed in breaking the back of militant unionism.

PALMER RAIDS OF 1919

This historic photo shows police rounding up workers during one of the infamous forays of the post-World War I period in which thousands of aliens and others were arrested.

AN OPEN LETTER FROM MARTIN YOUNG

Ellis Island today — a pictur

Martin Young, who has been held on Ellis Island without bail or trial since he was arrested for deportation Oct. 26, 1951, wrote this letter six weeks ago to a group of Americans who have taken up the fight for his liberation. Now 46, he came here from Russia at 14 and has devoted most of his lifetime to labor organizing, helping to build the Transport Workers Union and United Steelworkers.

Ellis Island, N.Y.

THE Open Letter which you, together with a group of other Americans, have addressed to the U.S. Attorney-General urging my release on reasonable bail was an act of great kindness which I deeply appreciate. On February 13 the Court of Appeals, by a two-to-one decision, sustained the Attorney-General in his charge that I am "a danger to public safety". Consequently I am still imprisoned here.

You should know that your letter made more than one person happy. Imprisoned with me are at least a thousand other men. At this time, only a handful are held for so-called security and political reasons. Most of the others are held and are to be deported for many other and rather insignificant reasons, such as jumping ship, improper identification, overstaying their visas, matrimonial difficulties, inability to post bond—or were brought here as children by parents alleged to have crossed the border illegally.

I know why I am here and can rationally explain why things are as they are. My faith in the American people and their sense of justice sustains me. But when you see what is done to others on the Island, then life does become unbearable at times.

HOW can one live in peace with himself and remain possessed of human feeling to see people commit suicide, go completely insane, refused

MARTIN YOUNG & SON

"Life does become unbearable . . ."

medical aid, beaten with blackjacks, thrown into solitary confinement and other such human degradation, the knowledge of which would revolt the sensibilities of the most indifferent of the American people?

And yet you stand there helpless, unable to comfort the victim even with a spoken word. As a last resort, when the inmate is provoked to the saturation point, and his mental and physical frustration is no longer within his power to control, he will bite his guard. Man biting man is a common occurrence on Ellis Island. This, in the midst of a civilized society—within arm's length of some of the world's greatest universities and publications, within earshot of churches and courts of law—portends much more than an abnormality of a prison institution.

What can I tell a group of Greek seamen, arrested and held here for months upon the request of the shipowners, in clear violation of international and American maritime law? How can you explain to them why the American government wouldn't grant them the right to voluntary departure, insisting that they be returned to Greece, which under the present regime would mean their certain death? Is there anything wrong with these seamen? Yes, they are members of the Greek Maritime Federation and some have fought as partisans in their Greek mountains to free their homeland from Mussolini and Hitler.

What would you tell the imprisoned Abdel Hamouda, a young Egyptian Wafdist, studying petroleum engineering in Colorado when he was arrested? All this Egyptian student is guilty of is believing that it would be in the best interests of his country if the British would leave the Suez Canal.

This Egyptian young man is my roommate. He has a serious spine and arm injury and yet he is denied medical treatment. At this writing he was brought back prostrated and sick from three days and four nights of solitary confinement. Why, you will ask? On Thursday morning, Feb. 21, he asked Mr. Smith, Chief of Security Guards, to release some of his own personal funds to buy food to supplement the meager unpalatable diet of this institution and get some warm clothes. Dressed in his overcoat, Abdel sits in the corridor with his back to the radiator, to get warmth into his spine, as the doctors and nurses of the U.S. Public Health Service pass by.

TELL me also, how can you look in the eyes of Chazim, a Turkish student, son of a Turkish army officer, studying at John Hopkins, arrested and held for months, only because he signed a petition calling for outlawing of the atom bomb?

I couldn't explain, but perhaps someone else can, why young Jewish lads, miraculously saved from concentration camps after their families were killed in Hitler's gas chambers, are held here for nearly a year because of illegal entry or improper identification documents. At the same time, self-confessed storm troopers, Nazis of all breeds and descriptions, Ukrainian and Latvian killers of Jewish people, are permitted to enter these United States, admitted to citizenship and made welcome as good Americans-to-be.

What am I to say to Chinese, Malayans, Hindus, Nigerians, Latin Americans who are held here for months without knowing why, some never having seen their warrant of arrest? These natives of what we are often apt to call "backward" countries heard from other inmates of the "magic" phrase, Writ of Habeas Corpus. What exactly it is, its significance in Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence, they of course don't know. They do know, however, that the administration of the Island and the U.S. Dept. of Justice don't like to face it and at times are even afraid of it. Having no money, or legal

The scandal of cheap Mexican labor

THE Immigration and Naturalization Service has announced plans to arrest for deportation 43,600 Mexicans during May and June.

At the time of the year when there is a demand for workers to harvest crops at below union wages, the Service allows a "fluid" border to exist between the U.S. and Mexico. After the purpose has been served, the Service swoops down on the harvest area, arresting thousands and flying them far into the interior of Mexico regardless of citizenship or whether they are legally or illegally in the country. At the same time the Service requests extra funds to deal with the "wetback" situation. ("Wetback" is an insulting term for these Mexicans used by the Service and the press.)

The treatment of Mexican workers without regard to resulting human and family tragedies typifies the attitude of the Justice Dept. and its Immigration Service which consider non-citizens and naturalized Ameri-

...cture of human degradation

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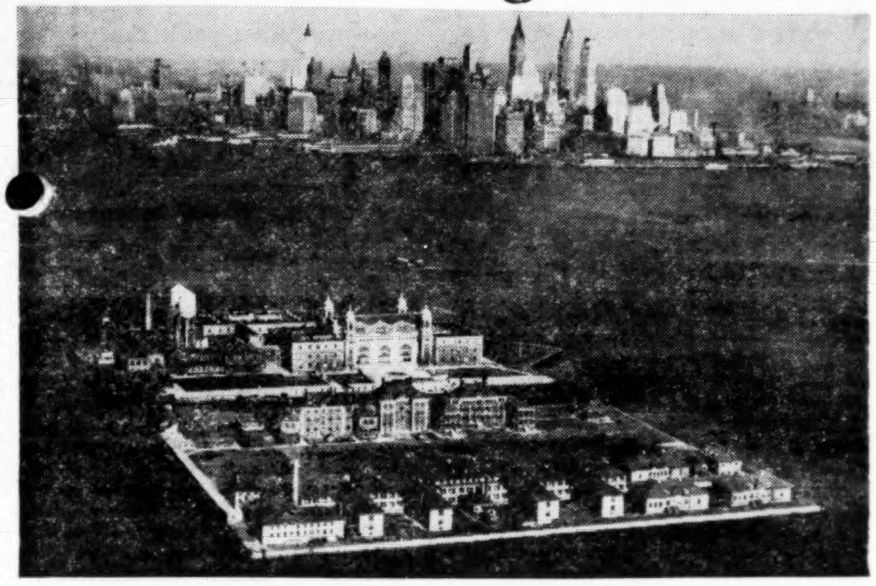

THIS IS ELLIS ISLAND

Once it was the gateway to freedom, now it is a sea-washed prison

counsel or knowledge of language, they always are in search of someone to help them write this "miraculous writ". Now why should an administrative branch of our government in the person of the Director of Ellis Island, Mr. Forman, threaten severe punishment to a Hindu inmate, because he helped another inmate write his writ?

PLEASE bear with me a little while longer and learn the story of another inmate here—an Italian by birth, a cement-mixer by trade, an American by adoption, an inmate of Ellis Island because he jumped ship; political ideology — none; organizational affiliations—Cement and Concrete Workers Union, A. F. of L.; moral code—God and Church; previous arrests and convictions—none; resident of Brooklyn, engaged to an American citizen, surrendered to the U. S. Immigration authorities voluntarily.

One day, both of us were in the yard. Longingly he grasped the barbed-wire enclosure overlooking Lower Manhattan Bay. He pointed to a tall building, one among many protruding in the sky and said with pride and moistened eyes: "I poured its concrete foundation." His hand remained outstretched as if trying to bridge the mainland. Tears flowed freely down his robust face. He pointed at his chest and said:

> **"America doesn't want me. I am to be deported. But part of me is embedded in the concrete foundation of that building."**

The brisk bay wind rapidly dried his face, and once more turning toward me he asked: "Have you heard of the Anastasia brothers?" I nodded. Then a flood of words came pouring out, telling me all about the character of these infamous brothers, their arrests and convictions, their unholy political and personal connections, and their immunity from the law. He told me how one of the brothers, who also jumped ship, was detained on Ellis Island for a few days and soon released. Now he will be permitted to go to Canada, where an American visa awaits him, and upon his return he will be welcomed to American citizenship.

My companion put his strong, big hands on my shoulders, made me look into his face and asked:

> **"Why will Anastasia make a better American citizen than I will?"**

WHEN both of us regained our composure, we began to search for a true and rational explanation of his situation and mine as well. Other inmates soon joined us.

It became obvious that America didn't put us in jail. That the real America—its people, its history, its own revolutionary traditions, its innate sense of justice—wants us free and perhaps thinks us deserving of the treasured possession of citizenship.

It is true your letter and the reasons for it were very puzzling to some. But no one could deny that you were a living, acting person. No one challenged its content, its generosity, its perpetuation of America's democratic ideals, or its promise for a glorious future, despite the unreasonable and so grossly un-American present.

They wanted to know whether you were personal friends of mine, or perhaps a blood relative, and whether you were paid for your efforts in my behalf. In utter amazement, they learned that your interest in my case was purely voluntary and impersonal. Their surprise was only increased by my professed ignorance of your political beliefs and associations. As each man, engrossed in his own thoughts, slowly drifted away, you heard some say:

> **"Maybe it is true that democracy is still alive in America—and perhaps his letter is also for us."**

Martin Young

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newspaper

$2 a year—$1 for 30 weeks
17 Murray Street
New York 7, N. Y.

They call me alien

THEY call me alien, unamerican . . .
I who came here with a dream and a vision,
I who have built America with these immigrant hands.
I am the giant that walked this earth from ocean to ocean in forty-league boots.
Wherever you go you can see my tracks.
I have built America to the tune of a thousand assembly lines,
the throbbing music of the locomotive,
the crane,
the tractor,
the steam drill,
John Henry's forty pound hammer.
I have built America with hope and singing,
Poverty and sorrow;
I have built America with blood and sweat,
That dripped to the good American earth and wedded with it.

Show me the brick these hands have not touched,
The steel rail they have not laid,
And the tall skyscrapers haunting the smoke-crossed skylines. . . .
Buffalo . . . Chicago . . . Pittsburgh . . . Frisco,
These are my monuments.

They call me alien, unamerican. . . .
My sons have carried the rifles in America's battles,
My sons are buried at Cassino, Bastogne, Guadalcanal, Buna,
My sons are sleeping in far-away places with lonesome names.

OH tyrant, who are you to still my voice?
Where will you deport me?
I who am America's history and its future,
I who am America's blood, nerves, sinews,
I who am America's living heart.
Can you deport a Sunday afternoon,
a Dakota wheatfield,
the song in a mockingbird's throat,
the night-time whistle of a continental train?
Are you going to deport 1776, the blood on the snow at Valley Forge,
And giant Lincoln's Gettysburg Address?

To this stranger in my house I will say:
America is a matter of the heart.
America is the shining grail dream that man has followed
Since he first walked on the earth and looked at the stars.

All those who have died under the pogrom and the knout,
All those who have fallen on the thousand anonymous picket lines,
These are the Americans.
What matter the color, the time, the tongue, the place he came from?
The American is never an alien or stranger to this earth.

FOR America is the dream of millions,
the dream of peace,
of bread,
of love,
that all men are brothers:
A dream of work to do and things to build,
Of a house with lawns enclosing it,
Children playing at the door,
Of long days to grow and think.

No bomb has been made big enough to destroy this dream,
No knife sharp enough to cut it,
No prison big enough to hold it,
No tyranny great enough to crush it.
Oh tyranny, oh stranger in my house I will say this:
It is only the oppressors who are aliens,
Only the small evil men,
Crying hate and battening on their brothers' blood—
These, only these, are alien, unamerican.

—Allan Nurmi

• ALLAN NURMI is a young worker in the scrap-iron yards in Duluth, Minn. With apologies to the author, his poem is published in slightly abbreviated form.

THE CALLOW FAMILY KNOW WHO AND WHAT THEY ARE

This is Leon Callow with his wife Katie and eight of their nine children. Callow, a steelworker 39 years in the U. S., faces deportation to Greece.

...or - 43,600 face arrest and deportation

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cans as a second-class group. But non-Nordic foreign born face special indignities in addition to this classification, shared by all foreign born. As Mexican workers are brought into and thrown out of the U. S. at the whim of southwestern landowners seeking cheap labor, so Filipino and Caribbean immigrants are welcomed or rejected according to agricultural and manufacturing interests' whims. Caribbean seamen manned our Merchant Marine fleet in great numbers during the war, but were denied citizenship and deported by thousands. Today the McCarran bill pending in Congress makes it a misdemeanor if a seaman for any reason remains in the U. S. more than 29 days. The same bill restricts immigration from Caribbean colonies to 100 a year.

Filipino workers were encouraged to come as cheap labor for west coast fish canneries. Now that their unions are strong and militant, wholesale deportation is planned.

WHAT YOU CAN DO

DEPORTATION: Because of their political opinions 3,400 non-citizens are threatened with deportation and lifetime separation from families and friends in this country. Write to the Attorney-General; protest the threatened deportation of Peter Harisiades to Greece, where he faces physical persecution and death as an anti-fascist. Four executions last month of political prisoners in Greece indicate the fate awaiting Harisiades.

RIGHT TO BAIL: The Comm. for Protection of Foreign Born is seeking a U. S. Supreme Court rehearing of its Mar. 10 decision in the "Terminal Island Four" case (the Court held non-citizens can be denied the right to bail when arrested in deportation proceedings). The committee is also demanding that immediate bail be granted the Terminal Island 4 by the Attorney-General.

FREE MARTIN YOUNG: Young has been held without bail on Ellis Island since Oct. 26, 1951—separated from his wife and two children, literally a concentration camp victim. Write to the Attorney-General; insist that Young be released immediately.

DEFEAT McCARRAN-WALTER BILLS: This legislation threatens to extend—and further entrench—the McCarran Law of 1950 on the statute books, make its repeal more difficult. Write to your Congressman; demand defeat of the McCarran and Walter Bills.

HOW THE COMMITTEE WORKS

3,000 persons a year aided in the last fifteen years

FOR over 20 years the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born has campaigned to extend the rights of all Americans by defending the liberties of non-citizens and naturalized Americans.

Its Naturalization Aid Service, which advises the foreign born on immigration, naturalization, citizenship and deportation problems and fills out and files documents in these proceedings, has been available free and without regard to race, national origin or political belief. During 15 years it has aided an average of 3,000 persons each year.

In the 1930's the ACPFB fought to defend many anti-fascists arrested for deportation, who faced death if deported to Germany or Italy or political persecution in other countries of Europe. It aided many non-citizens who fought with the International Brigades in Spain and found difficulty in re-entering the U.S. At the same time it helped non-citizens who faced deportation on technicalities, opposing these deportations because they threatened inhuman destruction of American families. During that period it participated in the defense of Harry Bridges against the threat of deportation, and of William Schneiderman, who was threatened with citizenship revocation on political grounds. Both cases were won in the U.S. Supreme Court in the early 1940's.

AGAINST THE NEW HYSTERIA: In World War II the ACPFB continued its many services, paying special attention to problems of discrimination faced by non-citizens in war industries. Since the war's end it has been the chief agency defending the foreign born against the Justice Dept.'s deportation drive. Today it is defending at least 210 non-citizens in 14 states, Puerto Rico and Hawaii who face deportation—and 15 naturalized Americans who face citizenship revocation—because of their political opinions. It is continuing its fight for the right to bail; for repeal of the Smith and McCarran laws; for defeat of the pending McCarran-Walter Bill; seeking to win release from Ellis Island of Martin Young and to prevent the re-arrest without bail of the California "Terminal Island Four"—Harry Carlisle, Frank Carlson, David Hyun and Miriam Stevenson; and to prevent the deportation to Greece of Peter Harisiades.

As part of its fight to mobilize the people to defend the human rights of foreign-born Americans the committee holds conferences, conducts tours, publishes fact sheets. It supplies the foreign-language press with special articles, and attorneys all over the country with material needed to defend the foreign born.

A PEOPLE'S FIGHT: The committee is headed by Rt. Rev. Arthur W. Moulton of Salt Lake City as hon. chairman, with George B. Murphy Jr., and Prof. Louise Pettibone Smith as co-chairmen. It is sponsored by a group of prominent Americans including

Prof. Derk Bodde
Rev. Frank Campbell
Dr. Anton J. Carlson
Rabbi Henry Cohen
Rabbi Franklin Cohn
Rev. Kenneth Forbes
Hugo Gellert
Rabbi Robt. Goldburg
Dr. Marcus Goldman
Rev. L. A. Gross
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Rev. Prof. Fleming James, Sr.
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Dr. Alex. Meiklejohn
Bishop W. Mitchell
Prof. Philip Morrison
Prof. Gaspare Nicotri
Bishop E. L. Parsons
Anton Refregier
Dr. Bertha Reynolds
Earl Robinson
Prof. Vida D. Scudder
Joseph P. Selly
Vilhjalmur Stefansson
Prof. Bernhard Stern
Fred W. Stover

The ACPFB's work is made possible by public voluntary contributions by individuals and organizations; its only "angels" are thousands of Americans concerned about civil and human rights, who are making possible the extension of the struggle against the deportation hysteria.

For ten years most of the committee's legal work was handled by Mrs. Carol King, who died Jan. 22, 1952. Mrs. King's brilliant and tireless work helped win victory in the Schneiderman and Bridges cases. She showed her devotion to the U.S. Constitution and its Bill of Rights in a lifetime of effort in behalf of persecuted and harassed people needing her services, none of whom was ever turned away.

NEW CRISIS, NEW TASKS: As a result of the Mar. 10 decisions by the U.S. Supreme Court, the committee's responsibilities in the period of crisis have increased, and will increase even more steeply as the Justice Dept. seeks to implement these decisions.

The ACPFB plans a nation-wide campaign to re-establish the democratic rights of the foreign born. Its continued activity is the only guarantee that all who are threatened or victimized by the deportation hysteria receive the proper legal advice and aid to protect their rights.

CAROL KING
A life in the cause

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR PROTECTION OF FOREIGN BORN
23 West 26th Street, New York 10, N. Y.

I am interested in helping the fight to defend the Bill of Rights. Please keep me informed of your work.

I enclose $.......... as a special contribution to help meet the current emergency to save the American right to bail and prevent threatened destruction of thousands of American homes as a result of the Justice Department's deportation hysteria.

Name ....

Street ....

City .... Zone....... State..................

WHERE TO GET LEGAL HELP

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR PROTECTION OF FOREIGN BORN
23 West 26th Street, New York City

DETROIT: 1442 Griswold—Room 303
CLEVELAND: 5103 Euclid Av.—Room 7
CHICAGO: 431 So. Dearborn St.—Room 317
SEATTLE: Eitel Building—Room 610
SAN FRANCISCO: 228 McAllister—Room 212
LOS ANGELES: 326 W. 3d St.—Room 311

LOCAL COUNSEL

BOSTON: Frederick F. Cohen, 294 Washington St.
BALTIMORE: Maurice Braverman, 119 W. Mulberry St.
BUFFALO: Martin R. Bradley, 550 Ellicott Sq. Bldg.
PITTSBURGH: M. Y. Steinberg, 1110 Berger Bldg.
AKRON: Thelma Furry, Second National Bank Bldg.
MINNEAPOLIS: Kenneth J. Enkel, 954 Builders Exch.
MILWAUKEE: Michael Essin, 324 E. Wisconsin Av.
ST. LOUIS: Douglas MacLeod, International Bldg.
HOUSTON: Arthur Mandell, State National Bank Bldg.
PORTLAND (Ore.): Irvin Goodman, Spalding Bldg.

A GUIDE TO THE LAW

What foreign-born Americans should know about their rights

By George W. Crockett Jr.
Counsel, Michigan CPFB

(Excerpted from the pamphlet "Rights of the Foreign Born.")

THE best general legal advice that can be given to the alien is that given by the late Supreme Court Justice Murphy:

> "... Once an alien lawfully enters and resides in this country, he becomes invested with the rights guaranteed by the Constitution to all people within our borders. Such rights include those protected by the First and Fifth Amendments and by the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. None of these provisions acknowledges any distinction between citizens and resident aliens. They extend their inalienable privileges to all 'persons' and guard against encroachment on these rights by Federal or State authority. . . ."

In recent months the Immigration and Naturalization Service (the federal agency concerned with persons of foreign birth) has sent letters to large numbers of aliens and naturalized citizens asking them to come to the local Immigration Office for an interview concerning their immigration status. These letters and interviews are frequently the first move in the Service's effort to deport or denaturalize a person of foreign birth. The mere receipt of such a letter tends to cause uneasiness which may or may not be justified.

IT'S NOT AN ORDER: The alien should understand first and foremost that these "official" letters are not orders; they are invitations which may be accepted by him or rejected—and no penalty can be imposed upon anyone for failure to accept the invitation voluntarily for such an interview. This alien or anyone on his behalf can write or phone the local Immigration Office for a clearer statement of what it is they want of him; or, if he prefers, he can ignore the letter entirely and wait for a formal order.

Before deciding whether he will or will not accept the invitation, the alien should first talk with an attorney or a civil rights organization having some knowledge of such matters.

An alien who willingly goes in without a lawyer and testifies or makes a statement at such an interview, does so at his own risk. And since he is likely to be completely unaware of his legal rights, this risk may prove to be a very serious one.

BRING A LAWYER: In no case can he possibly meet his questioner on equal terms and, hence, he is under a decided disadvantage. He should be reminded that the regulations of the Immigration and Naturalization Service recognize the right of every alien to be accompanied and represented by an attorney of his own choosing at all times, including the interview stage.

Usually the questions and the answers given at the interview are taken down on a dictaphone machine. Later they will be typed and the alien will be requested to come back, read and sign the typed copy.

The questions asked at a typical interview fall into two groups: first, those which actually relate to the alien's identity, his entry into the country and his registration; and second, those which have no such relations, but which seek to find out the alien's organizational activities, his political views, reading habits and associates.

The Service cannot compel the alien to answer any questions. The Immigration agent is not a judge. The alien may answer some questions and refuse to answer others; or he can refuse to answer all. He has a legal right to refuse to answer any question unless and until he is required to do so by a judge. He need give no reason whatever for his refusal.

WHAT TO WORRY ABOUT: Failure to comply with a valid subpena issued by the Immigration Service may have serious consequences. But the mere receipt of a subpena in such cases is no cause for alarm. The Immigration Service itself has no authority to compel anyone to respond to its subpena. It must first seek the aid and approval of the Court. It is at this point that the alien's attorney will assert his client's constitutional rights and will challenge the validity of the subpena and the authority of the Service to issue the subpena.

A naturalized citizen has all the rights that a native-born citizen enjoys. Once a person becomes a citizen, he has no greater or different responsibility to the Immigration Service than has a native-born citizen.

The only purpose for an interview with a naturalized citizen is to enable the Immigration Service to discover and develop some basis for instituting denaturalization proceedings against him, or to make him a "stoolpigeon" against others.

WHAT IS LOYALTY: Our foreign-born residents should be advised that loyalty to our Government does not mean blind obedience to the wishes of every Government employee in a uniform. Loyalty to our Government means loyalty to our Constitution and to the people of the U.S.

Our foreign born should understand, too, that notwithstanding the denial and violation of many of our civil rights today, ours is still a government of limited powers. We, the people, have placed these limits upon its powers precisely because we recognize the tendency of some Government employes and officers to exceed their constitutional authority. It is our duty as residents of a free country to insist that these limits be observed by our Government in each and every case.

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In 1933 he revisited the Soviet Union to "see for himself" the progress made by the new government. He had a private interview with Stalin. In "An American Prophet Speaks," GUARDIAN PAMPHLETS reprints that historic dialogue.
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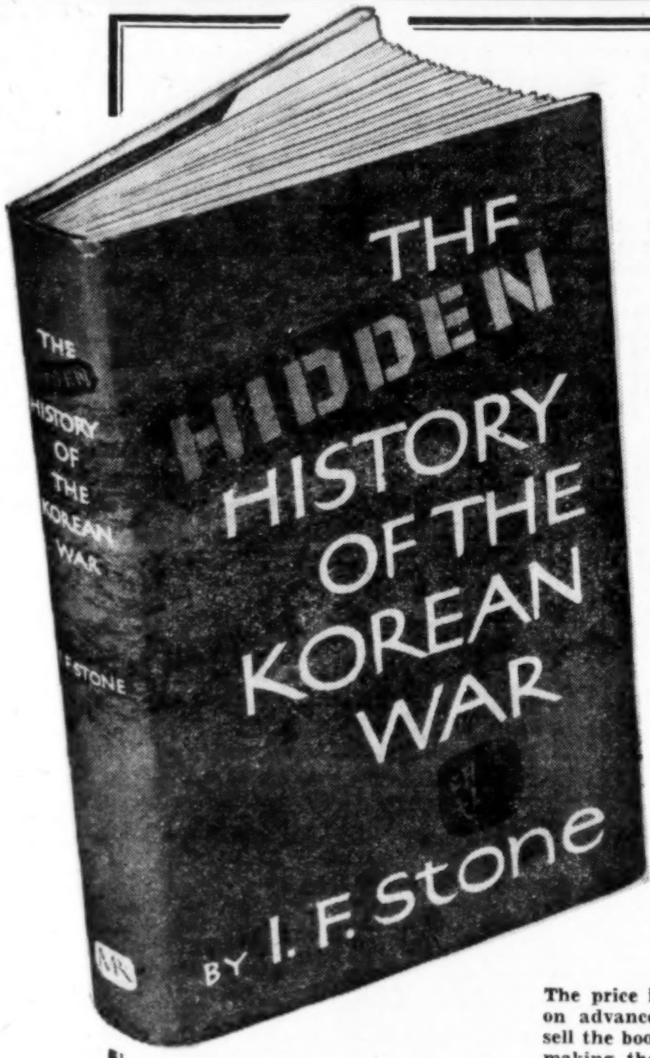

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—Matthew Josephson

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—Upton Sinclair

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2G

THE LAW

Baltimore: 6 guilty in Smith Act trial

AFTER A TRIAL rushed to completion in three weeks, six persons were convicted in Baltimore last week under the Smith Act ("conspiring to teach and advocate"); the jury deliberated less than three hours. In a novel interpretation of the law, Judge W. Calvin Chesnut, 78, made this ruling:

> "Of course, membership in the Communist Party, knowing the purpose of the Communist Party, is a crime under the Smith Act."

Instructing the jury that membership alone is "evidence" of "conspiracy", the Judge virtually directed a guilty verdict. Observers at the trial contend that if the conviction on these grounds is allowed to stand, the way will be open for mass "quickie" trials. An appeal will be taken.

Philip Frankfeld, former head of the CP in Maryland and the District of Columbia, was sentenced to the maximum five years. George Meyers, present leader of the area, got four years. Roy Wood, Washington leader, Maurice Braverman, an attorney, and Mrs. Dorothy Rose Blumberg got three years each. Mrs. Frankfeld was sentenced to two years. Each was fined $1,000.

Isserman gets Jersey Justice

DURING the 9-month Foley Sq. trial of the 11 top leaders of the U.S. CP, attorney A. J. Isserman of the New Jersey bar was one of five defense counsel who tried the patience of Judge Harold Medina so sorely that he sentenced them all to jail for contempt.

Isserman's offenses included reminding Medina that the trial record showed he was in the Social Register; and several other times saying "I object" and trying to state his reasons. Medina held that these offenses constituted part of a conspiracy "to sabotage the functioning of the Federal judicial system."

NO CONSPIRACY: Higher courts including the Supreme Court, while upholding the contempt convictions, ruled out the conspiracy charge (for which a lawyer can be disbarred) and said with special reference to Isserman that the charges against him were not sufficient to warrant disbarment.

Last week, preparing to go to jail on the charges, Isserman was also fighting an order of disbarment handed down Mar. 24 by the Supreme Court of New Jersey, based on the same conspiracy charge ruled out by the U.S. courts.

Refused a hearing by the N.J. Supreme Court before judgment was passed, Isserman last week entered a petition for rehearing, planned to take the case to the U.S. Supreme Court if refused. Disbarment by his state bar effectively ends a lawyer's career.

PROGRESSIVE PARTY

Hallinan in jail; commutation asked

ON APRIL 1 Vincent Hallinan, Progressive Party candidate for President, entered McNeil Island Penitentiary in Puget Sound, Wash., to begin serving a six-month jail sentence for contempt of court in his conduct of the defense of labor leader Harry Bridges against the government's fourth attempt to deport him or put him in jail for political reasons.

Hallinan's chief "contempt" was to make repeated efforts against the orders of the court to introduce results of three previous Bridges prosecutions, all of which ended in complete vindication in courts as high as the Supreme Court.

As he surrendered, Hallinan said:

> "I am proud to go to prison on a charge like this. It is the best inheritance I can leave my children."

THE RIGHT TO HEAR: His Progressive Party running-mate, Mrs. Charlotta Bass, retired publisher of the California **Eagle**, wired President Truman asking immediate commutation of Hallinan's sentence. Joining in the request were Elmer Benson, PP national chairman, C. B. Baldwin, secretary and the natl. committee. The telegram said:

> We are at the beginning of a decisive political campaign to elect a new national administration in 1952. The American people face momentous and vital choices in this election—the issue of peace and war, civil rights, a return to the Bill of Rights, lifting the burden of armaments. The candidates of the Democratic and Republican Parties will have full freedom to present their viewpoints. They will be accorded full and free access to the press and radio. To require Mr. Hallinan, the candidate of the Progressive Party, to serve out his sentence under these circumstances not only does not serve the ends of justice but, even more, deprives the American people of the right to hear an opposing candidate with an alternative program. We respectfully urge you to commute Mr. Hallinan's sentence.

On the eve of confirmation of the contempt sentence, the government filed notice of a tax lien against Hallinan and his wife Vivian for $339,829.46 in taxes allegedly owed for 1948, '49 and '50, tying up all their assets.

CALENDAR

Chicago

FRI., APRIL 25, 8 p.m. CELEBRATE 15th ANNIV. LINCOLN BRIGADE WITH STEVE NELSON, former Lt. Col. Spanish Republican Army, now a victim of the Smith Act, at CHOPIN CULTURAL CENTER, 1547 N. Leavitt St. Cultural program, social and refreshments afterward. 75c tax inc. Benefit Committee to Defend Lincoln Vets, and Political Victims Welfare Committee.

SAT., APRIL 12. See "Peace Will Win." Refreshments, entertainment. Help put Illinois PP on ballot. Proceeds to Election Campaign. Donation: $1. Block's, 7732 S. Calumet, 8:45 p.m. Auspices: 6, 7, 8 Wards PP.

FILM FORUM MOVIE SHOWINGS. Best films from U.S.S.R. every Friday evening, 8:15 p.m., at People's Auditorium, 2457 W. Chicago, and every Sunday, 7 p.m., at ASP Hall, 946a N. Clark. Showing Fri., April 18, & Sun., April 20: "MOUSSORGSKY," incomparable Soviet prize-winning color film of 1951.

"PEACE WILL WIN!" showing of the dramatic, fighting peace film, Tues., April 15, 8 p.m., 301 N. Mayfield Av. Auspices: 37th Ward PP.

WM. L. PATTERSON, natl. exec. sec. of the Civil Rights Congress will address a huge city-wide rally of CRC for members and friends. Tues., April 15, 7:30 p.m. U.E. Hall, 37 S. Ashland.

MATISSE—a critical review of the current Art Institute Show. 5 artists' views. Fri., April 18, 8 p.m. ASP Cultural Center, 946 N. Clark.

Los Angeles

"THE MAGIC HORSE," color cartoon feature on ancient Russian folk tales, also "Biography of Motion Picture Camera" & "Animated Cartoons." Bill Nordan, guest speaker. Fri., April 18, 8 p.m. Adm. 65c. First Unitarian Church, 2936 West 8th St.

THE U.S. AND GERMANY: 9th in a 15-week Seminar on U.S. International relations by **MARTIN HALL.** First Unitarian Church, 8:15 p.m., Thurs., Apr. 17. Adm. 60c.

TODAY'S NEWS ANALYZED with discussion in town meeting tradition. MARTIN HALL, every Monday night at ASP Council, 7410 Sunset, 8 p.m. GR 4188. Don.: 60c.

DEBATE. Thurs., April 17, 8:15 p.m., at Parkview Manor, 2200 W. 7th St. "Is Soviet Policy Compatible with Communist Idealogy?" Irwin Edelman, affirmative. Abraham Brownstein, negative. Questions. Discussion. Admission free.

New York

APRIL 12, TWO EAST SIDE ALP CLUBS present a dance in honor of the Warsaw Ghetto. Joel Lynn, comedienne; "Tex," western stylist; Sol Tischler, speaker, and other artists. Spacious YPA Hall, 95 Av. B, cor. 6 St., Manh. Contribution: $1.

JUST A VERY FEW SEATS left for Guardian Theater Night. Mon., Apr. 28. FLIGHT INTO EGYPT with Paul Lukas, Paul Mann, Zero Mostel. Orch. $8, Balc. $7, $6. 17 Murray St. WO 4-1750.

Philadelphia

EASTER WEEK-END at Nature Friends Camp, April 12-13. Entertainment, folk dancing, good food. Call Cheltenham 2774 for info.

San Francisco

LP RECORD LISTENING program-discussion, Sun., April 20, 8 p.m. Adm: 35c. NEW SOVIET MUSIC, Song of the Forest & Concerto in B Major. Russian dessert & tea. Calif. Labor School, 321 Divisadero.

Washington, D. C.

"PEACE WILL WIN," April 26, 9 p.m. Odd Fellows Hall, 9th & T Streets, N.W. Sponsored by Progressive Party of D.C. Admission: $1 including tax.

California

"PEACE WILL WIN," most inspiring sound film. Now available for private showing by individuals, organizations. For booking write So. Calif. Peace Crusade, 326 W. 3rd St., Rm. 310, Los Angeles, or call MUtual 1293.

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General

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Books & Publications

ARTHUR KAHN'S "SPEAK OUT, AMERICA WANTS PEACE," inspiring account our peace movement—necessary supplement to **PEACE WILL WIN.** Use it with film as St. Louis, Conn., Mass. are doing. Paper copies available month's consignment: 100 for $65; 50 for $36; 24 for $20. Cloth ed. $2, or 6 for $10. Independence Publishers, P.O. Box 334, New York 3, N. Y.

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ASPrevue variety nights

By Lester Cole

DURING these cold-war years many writers, actors, dancers and composers have been seeking a way to communicate through their own art forms the strivings of people for peace and a decent way of life. They have found few platforms.

At the same time countless people have been looking for entertainment which sought, in a healthy, positive way, to counteract the violence and war-mongering hurled at them via radio, films, TV and the commercial theatre.

On Friday evening, April 11, at Yugoslav American Hall, 405 W. 41st St., New York, an informal wedding between those artists and that audience will take place. The match was inevitable—history decreed it. And it is fitting and natural that the Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions should officiate.

SEVEN EVENINGS: A series of seven Friday night variety programs called **ASPrevue** will be presented—drama, satire, play and poetry readings, music and dance. They will be social evenings; there will be dancing, refreshments and discussion of works in progress.

Members of ASP, renowned artists now blacklisted, well-known young men and women devoted to the progressive movement, plus scores whose talent soon will be recognized, will present exciting new material as well as the works of established writers and composers. The emphasis will be on new material. ASP urges the poet, dramatist, satirist and composer from farm and factory, pavement and grass root, to submit works.

IT'S FOR EVERYONE: New York audiences will act as previewers. The best presentations will be mimeographed with production notes for use by interested groups throughout the nation.

ASP asked me to act as director of this program, and I willingly accepted because I am confident that, working together, artists and audience can begin in an unpretentious but determined way to shoot penetrating shafts of courage, humor and hope through the darkness of our time.

Individuals or groups interested in submitting or receiving material should contact N. Y. Council ASP, 49 W. 44th St., N. Y. C. MU 7-2161.

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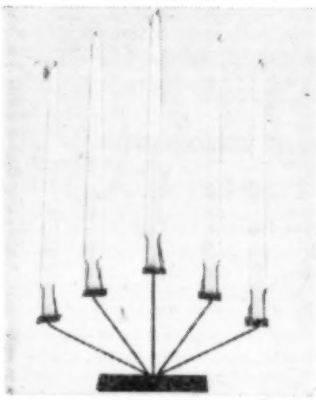

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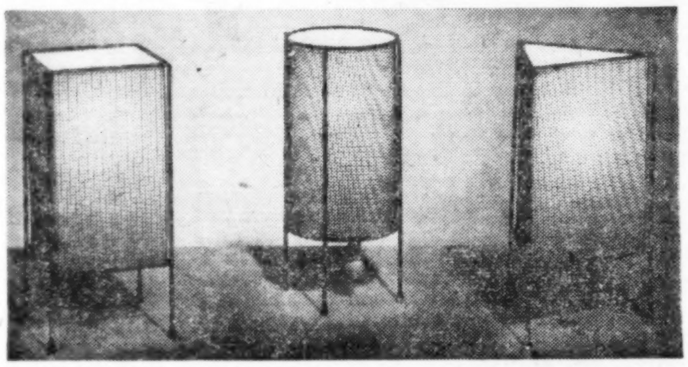

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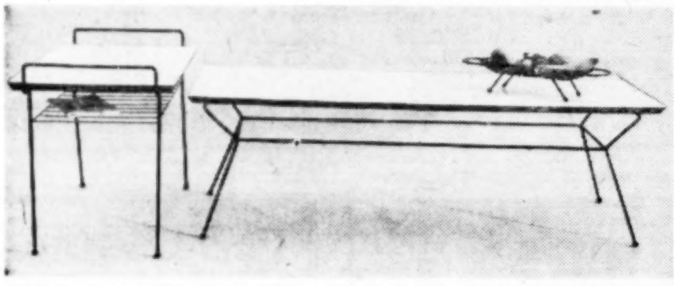

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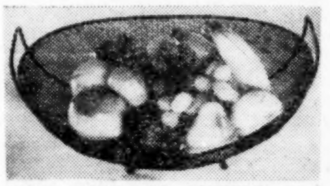

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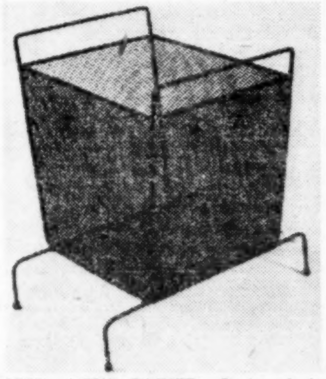

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55.	White on white floral damask with gold border	54x 83	5.00
56.	Floral damask pattern in blue, beige, gold, green. Hemstitched	56x 82	8.00
57.	White on white floral pattern with blue border and 8 napkins	60x 83	8.50
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		Size	Price
63.	Openwork design in cream, gold, green, blue with 6 napkins	58x 78	13.00
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65.	Pure white damask banquet cloth with 12 napkins	70x126	40.00

FROM BELGIUM:

		Size	Price
66.	White floral pattern with green, peach, gold border; plus 12 napkins (16")	64x104	21.00
67.	Same as above with 8 napkins	64x 84	14.00
68.	Same as above with 8 napkins	52x 68	8.50
69.	Pure white on white banquet cloth with 12 napkins	64x104	21.50

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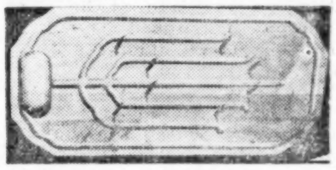

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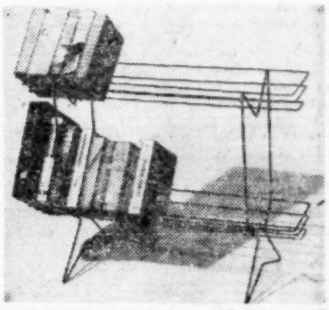

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FARM

FU convention aids Truman war squeeze

As U. S. family farmers were squaring off last week for spring planting, most of them could see nothing ahead but trouble. The squeeze between rising costs and lower prices was getting tighter; the draft was making farm-labor shortage acute; a shortage of farm machinery loomed. For the third straight month this year farm prices declined, were 5.5% lower in March than in December, 1951, 8.5% below a year ago. Prices paid by farmers were the highest on record, standing at 288% above the standard 1910-1914 average. Credit and bank loans were drying up. In Congress powerful forces were lining up to destroy existing price-support legislation, already inadequate.

Only one consequence of this dark situation was causing concern in Washington: farmers, tightening up for a tough time, plan to plant less this year. This, according to Secy. of Agriculture Brannan, would seriously endanger the "defense effort." The government's goal is a 6% increase in production over last year; crop surveys show that this is likely to be short by some 9,000,000 acres, 5,000,000 of them in feed grains, which will sharply cut the production of meat, eggs and milk.

Consumers were getting hit, too. Recent figures showed that in 1951 a family of three "average consumers" had to pay $722.32 for their food bill, the highest on record. It was 12% above 1950, 125% above 1940, much more than double the pre-World War II average for 1935-1939. But of the increased retail cost of food last year, the farmer got about one-fifth; wholesalers and processors got the rest.

CONVENTION OF FEAR: The Truman program was spelling ruin not only for the small farmer but for the only organization that has defended him in the past. The 50th anniversary convention of the Natl. Farmers Union in Dallas, Tex., last month was characterized last week by the Iowa **Union Farmer** as

> . . . a convention dominated by war-generated hysteria and fear. Farmers Union top officials were noticeably nervous and jittery—and fearful. It was not a New Deal convention, but a Truman Administration convention, slanted to at least take the heat off of Truman's war, if not give it wholehearted support.

A letter to the convention from the President and a speech by Brannan were held to be

> . . . little compensation for corn belt hog raisers and the egg farmers, whose products are now well below cost of production.

SO EMBARRASSING: The paper noted that Brannan has authority to raise hog and egg prices, but that FU leaders refrained from urging him to because they did not want to "embarrass him." Brannan himself disowned his own plan for production payments to farmers; he said in answer to a question: "I don't see that it is a great and important issue. . . ." The Iowa paper further noted that

> . . . no mention was made in the program of the developing economic crisis in agriculture, and as far as anyone might guess, no war is going on in Korea.

A resolution condemning monopoly control of the U.S. was rejected in favor of one calling for

> . . . the preservation and strengthening of a genuinely free enterprise economy. . . . We believe in the encouragement of private enterprise.

THE PILGRIMAGE: The convention also adopted constitutional amendments permitting the national office to revoke the charters of state organizations. Fred W. Stover, president of the Iowa organization and a staunch peace advocate who has refused to go along with the Truman war program, wrote in his **Union Farmer** column:

> The first day [of the convention] was spent on an expensive pilgrimage . . . to Point, Tex. [where the FU was founded], to eulogize and celebrate the Farmers Union rebels and non-conformists of the past, and the last day was spent in preparing for the crucifixion of the non-conformists of the present.

He called the charter amendment "the most brazen grab for power in the history of our Union," warned:

> If the Natl. Farmers Union officials continue to follow their present course, then our Union may soon be but the shambles of mediocrity, incompetence and political subservience.

Speaking for his own state union, he declared:

> Our organization will not be used as the farm committee for the corrupt Pendergast machine.

PEACE CAMP LOSES IN FARMERS UNION

Iowa, N. J. Chiefs Downed in Floor Fight

Cleveland Plain Dealer

Most U.S. newspapers reported that the Farmers Union convention voted against a cease-firm in Korea after "a bitter floor fight." The fact: no resolution embodying this demand came before the convention; the demand was neither discussed nor debated.

CALIFORNIA

Bomb war against Negroes rouses L. A.

On March 16 two homes in Los Angeles owned by Negroes were bombed and heavily damaged—the third and fourth such explosions there in recent months (GUARDIAN, Mar. 26). The latest crime stirred the community as few events have ever done. Religious, labor, civic and other organizations firmly demanded action; forced Mayor Bowron to pledge to run down the bombers; caused the City Council to call for FBI help (which was promised in a wire from J. Edgar Hoover); won from the State Assembly a resolution calling on all federal and state authorities to end the terror; drove top law enforcement agencies (the District Atty., his asst. chief deputy, the Asst. State Atty. Gen., the Deputy Police Chief, a Sheriff's office inspector, and all the investigators and detectives assigned to the case) into a closed huddle to coordinate their efforts.

But last week there had been no arrests, no reports that arrests were even near. And one of the bomb victims, high school science teacher William Bailey, received a new threat:

> You have 72 hours to get out. You think those two-bit police can protect you. Stick around and you'll find out we mean business.

The letter was signed "KKK" with three crosses. In nearby Venice a white family with a Negro tenant were threatened with "burning out" if they didn't oust him.

McGRATH'S GREEN LIGHT: From Fort Wayne, Ind., came an angry charge from Roy Wilkins, a top leader of the Natl. Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People. Addressing a membership rally there, he put full blame for increasing terror against Negroes upon failure of ex-Atty. Gen. J. Howard McGrath to take any action in the Christmas night fatal bombing of Harry T. Moore and his wife in Florida. Said Wilkins:

> "Hoodlums across the nation have been given the green light to attack Negroes and their homes by the failure of the FBI to arrest a single suspect in the Moore case. Atty. Gen. McGrath promised on Jan. 8 to go 'all out' on the Moore case. Nothing has been heard from him or the FBI since that date."

HOODLUMS IN BLUE: References in the latest threatening notes in Los Angeles to "two-bit police" weren't wholly bluff. The entire police dept., from Chief William H. Parker down, was under fire for brutalities that shocked the city. A grand jury completed taking testimony from seven youths who told of a gory Christmas all-night party by boozing cops who in relays beat them into insensibility, then revived them to beat them some more. All were hospitalized, one with internal injuries.

One of the victims—who testified that the cops beat him until they slipped and fell in his spilled blood (he later need two transfusions)—weighed only 114 pounds. The grand jury recessed until April 8, at which time it planned to start calling great numbers of police of all ranks.

RESORTS

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Speakers: Wm. A. Reuben, special correspondent for NATL. GUARDIAN, author of pamphlet "To Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case"; Rabbi Franklin Cohn, Temple Kadimha; Robert Kenny; Rev. Carl L. Crain; Bert Witt; Jack Tenner.
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L. A. Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case
c/o Sophie Davidson, 515 W. 41st Pl., L. A. 37, Calif. ADams 3-7686
Please enlist me in the L. A. Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case. Enclosed $.......... to help bring the facts of the case to a wider audience.
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